## THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

## by J. Edgar Hoover

The Communist Party of the United States is the indirect outgrowth of the lives, thoughts and deeds of four men, none of whom were Americans. These men are Karl Marx (1818-1883), Frederick Engels (1820-1895), Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov Lenin (1870-1934) and Joseph Stalin (1879-).

Prom these men has come the antidemocratic philosophy of Communism upon which the Communist Party of the United States is based. It is the raison d'etre of this wrty which in turn serves it uniquely as a vehicle, carrying Communist philosophy, in one form or the other, to every major segment of our American society. Therefore, to un'erstand the Communist Party and its practices it is necessary to have at least some fundamental understanding of its philosophy.

This philosophy is contained within the framework of the "science" of Varrism-Leninism and is expressed through the theoretical modes of dialectical and historical materialism. In order to simplify and condense this

Approved For Release 2009/09/04: CIA-RDP90-01226R000100140027-9

philosophy it will be reduced here to eight essential ideas.

These ideas are: (1) autodynamic matter in constant motion constitutes eternal and revolutionary reality, therefore. God does not exist; (2) matter being primary, mind is secondary, hence there is no soul destined for immortality, as man in essence is at one with nature and perishes on death like any beast of the field; (3) history is a materialistic process, for all human institutions, political, social, legal, educational, cultural, moral and religious have their real origin in, and are molded ultimately by the economic factor or "modes of production": (4) the non-t munist state is an organ of unjust oppression which must be abolished and replaced by the dictatorship of the proletariat; (5) a revolutionary theory, method and a revolution are justifiable means for abolishing such states and are to be employed wherever necessary; (6) the Judaic-Christian moral principles are to be rejected as invalid and replaced by "moral" principles rooted in proletarian utility (e.g., the end justifies the means); (7) all religions without exception are an "opiate" of the people and must be wholly banished from society; and (3) Communism, in order to be complete, in order to be truly Communism, must crush all opposition to it energwhere, for only by so doing can it express itself in a classless, stateless, godless world Communis

Society wherein all property used in production will be owned in common.

This philosophy of its very nature is international and demands international organization. This fact is borne out by repeated concrete efforts to internationalize Communist philosophy over a long period of years.

The Communist League (effective period from 1847-1352) was the first systematic effort in this direction. The League was followed by The First International (effective period from 1864-1872, ending in 1876), The Second International (effective period from 1889-1914, partially revived in 1923), The Third International (1919-1943), and now the Communist Information Bureau of Aucharest (established in Poland in 1947).

As important as these organizations have been to the gradual internationalization of Communist philosophy, all of them together have not been nearly as important in this regard as was the establishment of Soviet Russia in 1917 and its subsequent rise to a position of power in world affairs. It can be safely said that Goviet Russia has been and is the truly potent practical factor in the internationalization of Communist philosophy.

It is in the light of this historical, ideological and organizational background that we must view the creation and prowth of the Communist Party of the United States.

This Party was organized on September 1, 1910, in Chicago, Illinois. From 1919-1930 it experienced its birth pangs and growing pains. Defiant militancy marked its entrance upon the stage of American life. Violent revolutionary goals were openly proclaimed and followed with action. Prosecution met this subversive action. The Party went underground, emerging in 1922 to reach full aboveground status in 1925. It porticipated in strikes and adhered like a leach to troubled areas in the nation, boring from within, multiplying troubles whenever possible. Internal dissension broke out within the furty. Members were expelled for extertaining unarthodox Communist ideas. In the head of this external and internal conflict the Party commenced to assume its rigid, dogmatic, intolerant form which it has maintained to this day. Then came the economic crash of 1929, opening up unrivaled opportunities to the Party's propagandists and agitators.

The period of 1930-1935 was marked by a continuance of the horing-from-within tactics coupled with relatively open, rirect and militant approaches from without. The

unemployed were exploited by the Communist Party.

"trikes, bonus and "hunger" marches were all used as instruments by the Party for increasing social difficulties and spreading Communism. Supplementing these efforts were related ones centering around the organization of mass "protest" lemonstrations and parades.

In 1025 the Seventh Conpress of the Communist International set a new tactical line, referred to as the united front. In the rise of Navism the world Communist movement saw an opportunity to deceive and build up its strength around united front slogans and organizations ostensibly directed only against Nazism. The plea was made to ignore democratic and Communist differences for the sake of uniting against the common enemy. In the process the Party planned slyly to recruit members and increase its power and prestige in all ways possible. It planned to advance more by subtle, slippery and devious tactics than by open and direct militancy. This was to be the period of the "Trojan Norse, " the "Outstretched Kand," "Popular Front," and "Goalitions." In the United States these tactics were applied in the field of organized labor, among racial minority groups, and in every channel where public opinion is molded. Progress was made. The decaptive

common front against Nazism paid dividends.

Then came the Nazi-Soviet pact of August 23, 1939. The treacherous veil was, with the signing of this pact, lifted from the deceitful face of the Communist Party of the United States. Communism and Maxism were actually all along blood brothers under the skin. From this point onward the Party utilized every opportunity to instigate strikes and apply other means of interfering with our national defense efforts. This continued until Germany attacked Russia on June 22, 1941. In behalf of Soviet Russia the Party became "patriotic" for the duration of the war. But here, as in the common front of the thirties, there was a dual purpose, one being the defeat of Russia's enemies, the other being the strengthening of Communism within the United States. Its members attempted to infiltrate civilian defense groups, respectable social organizations engaged in war work, strategic areas in industry and the armed services.

when the war terminated, so also did this transitory and expedient Communist Party policy of "cooperation," concealing, as it did from all except the more analytical and objective, the ulterior motivation which surged restlessly behind this policy. Once more it revealed its true

nature, resorting to the familiar tactics of class struggle, ceaseless militancy and systematic but varied subversive work on a national scale.

Its campaign of subversive worfare was against the entire mation; therefore, it had to be met and stopped, not on a city or state level, but on a national level.

National problems necessitate national solutions.

The legal contribution toward this solution commenced on July 20, 1943, with the indictment of twelve members of the National Foard of the Communist Party of the United States. One member, William N. Foster, was later almost sociated because of illness. The indictment, returned by the United States Grand Jury, southern Pistrict of New York, charged the man in question with having conspired together and with others "unlawfully, wilfully and knowingly" in the formation of the Communist Party of the United States of America, for the purpose of teacting and advocating the overthrow and destruction of our Government by force and violence in violetion of Sections 2 and 3 of the Act of June 28, 1940 (Section 10, Title 19, United States Sode), commonly known as the Smith Act.

The facts of this trial are now a matter of history. It opened in New York on January 17, 1949, and closed on September 23, 1949. It was one of the longest and most turbulent trials in our history. Buring the course of this trial the Communist defendants and their attorneys worked steadily to confuse, obscure, delay and obstruct the judicial proceedings. On Getober 14, 1949, the jury returned a verdict of guilty. In October 21, 1949, the sentences were given. On August 1, 1950, the United States Court of Appeals, New York, upheld the decision of the lower court. The final chapter of this case was written on June 4, 1951, when the United States Supreme Court declared that the legal proceedings taken against the Communist defendants were constitutional.

History is now repeating itself. The Communist Party faced with legal action is preparing to go underground in 1951 as it did in 1919, and for similar reasons.

Thile history does repeat itself, it does not necessarily do so in precisely the same manner. The Communist Farty which went underground in 1919 was a young, small and inexperienced Farty poorly led, whereas the Party which is preparing to go underground in 1951

is an old, relatively large and experienced Party ably led. In addition to its 38,085 active members, for every Party member there are approximately ten persons who knowingly or unknowingly are doing the work of the Party and facilitating its programs.

This situation places a much greater burden upon law enforcement in the United States. More than ever before, American Communists in this nation are moving in channels either actually or sotentially dangerous to the security of our democratic institutions - institutions which law enforcement is obligated and bound to preserve.

This particular phase of the subject - Communism in relation to law enforcement - consists of certain special aspects, distinct from one another, yet definitely linked together into a flexible and common pattern of action. It is a pattern which includes open and concealed organizational forms of activity, espionage interests, sabotage considerations and law enforcement attacks.

The Communist Party's organizational forms of activity are those conducted upon the surface of things.

They consist of decisions made by the National Convention,

National Committee and National Board. They likewise consist of the carrying out of these decisions, and the many varied programs to which they give rise, by different organs of the Party such as the National Organization Department, National Review (Control) Commission, National Education, Egitation and Publications Departments, National Labor Department, National Nationality Groups Commission, National Negro Commission, National Veterans Commission, National Women's Commission, National Affairs Commission and the National Cultural Commission. Permeating these open organizational forms are Communist officials, leaders, functionaries, theorists, organizers, teachers and writers, all of whom frankly admit their adherence to Communism. This open work they wish to continue at all costs. They prefer to keep this kind of work as extensive and intensive as is possible in order to prevent the Party from being isolated from the masses.

The concealed organizational forms of activity take place through an underground apparatus extending from the over-all aboveground organization. It is made necessary because of the illegal goals established and because of the very nature of the principles and tactics

of the "science" of Marxism-Leninism. In times favorable to the Party it contracts. In times unfavorable to the Party it expands, the latter condition being the prevailing one. These concealed organizational forms of activity relate to (1) secret and disciplinary work within the Party; (2) confidential aspects of the Party's courier system; (3) illegal entries to, and departures from the country; (4) surreptitious or conspiratorial policymaking; (5) espionage; (3) sabotage; and (7) serious civil distances when such action is possible.

In order to shield or protect its members engaged in work inimical to the welfare of the United States, it has been necessary for the Party to adopt some stringent security measures which include (1) elimination of membership cards; (2) transference of confidential records from some district headquarters to the homes of trusted members; (3) inquiries into the background of Party members; (4) reduction in the use of the telephone and mail service with a corresponding growth in its courier system; (5) holding of business meetings in small groups and under the "cover" of a social gathering; (6) storing of stationery supplies in out-of-the-way places and other similar necessars.

On considering espionage work, Communist leaders have given thought to making systematic efforts to gathering espionage information under such captions as (1) military, (2) economic, (3) political, and (4) scientific. The means of securing this information vary, including direct infiltration of strategic areas by Communists or trusted sympathizers, purchasing of information, psychological and tricky questioning of unsuspecting persons having the knowledge desired, bribery and blackmail in different forms. As we know, Communists have attempted in the recent past to put these espionage ideas into action.

The thought given to sabotage by Communist leaders relates to specific targets and the means of hitting them. In the light of the knowledge available on this subject, real sabotage by Communists need not be expected unless this nation should become involved in a full-scale war with Communist nations. Should this happen it can be expected that the Communist Party will single out for damage or destruction (1) shipping facilities on the west and east coasts; (2) railroad junctions, canal locks, important bridges and the larger airports; (3) power stations, transmission lines and switchboards; (4) basic industries without which a war cannot be successfully

conducted; (5) sources of our water and food supplies; and (6) national morale.

Although the Communist Party's sabotage ideas have not been, as yet, translated into action, this is not so of its views on law enforcement. For some time the Farty, plus its fellow travellers and sympathizers, has been viciously attacking law enforcement in the United States. It has been a devious three-pronged attack. The Mrst is directed against individual law enforcement officers for the purpose of smearing them in the eyes of their superiors and the community in general. The second is focused upon an entire police department or federal law enforcement agency in an endeavor to discredit these law enforcement bodies in the eyes of all the people of the nation, thereby driving a destructive wedge between the two. The third concerns itself with the courtroom, relative to which Communists are instructed to seize every opportunity to obstruct, delay, weaken and ridicule the democratic judicial process.

Communists entertain the hope that their vicious and relentless attack against law enforcement in the United States will eventually result in seriously injuring the people's confidence in, and their support of.

democratic law enforcement procedures. Communists well know that law enforcement cannot long survive without the confidence and good will of the public, hence their burning desire to destroy them, thereby turning the population against the preservers of law and order.

In view of what has been said thus far, it is clear that Communism is a bitter and mortal enemy of American Democracy and a genuine threat, especially in the light of the international situation, to the security of this nation. It is an enemy not alone because of its anti-democratic practices but also because of its philosophy or principles which, of their very nature, are irreconcilable with the democratic way of life.

In conclusion, therefore, we can say that the Communist Party of the United States must be rejected both in principle and in practice. It is not indigenous to the social climate of the United States. It is foreign in its ideology, historical background, decistue leadership and in its objectives. It will be rendered innocuous when these facts are clearly, fully, regularly and systematically exposed to the thinking people of this nation. This is not a task only for the armed

services and the law enforcement bodies of this nation.

It is a task for the entire social structure of our country as expressed through government, business, labor, education and religion.

Its successful fulfillment will require coordinated efforts and intelligent direction. It will necessiate national character. It will demand not simply negative action against the Communist Party but positive action as well, soundly channelized toward the attainment of the historic goals of American Democracy.